2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 17

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

423 By far the majority of the peasant families in Hunza are free-holders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death. In olden days the Mirs owned a certain amount of land in every settlement, and the custom was to have this farmed by forced labour, spread, in theory, justly over the villagers. The Yerpa, or Steward, in charge of such royal demesnes, was obviously in the pleasant position of being able on the one side to cheat his royal master of a large proportion of the produce, and on the other to oppress and squeeze the luckless peasant-labourers. He extorted bribes in kind from anyone able thus to evade the communal work, and he could impose more than a fair share of the labour on anyone who incurred his dislike. When the present Mir (Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán)[1] was a boy he had seen this system at its ugly work under his father, Mir Ghazan Khan, and his elder brother, Mir Safdar Ali, and as he would tell you with a smile: "I knew just how much peculation and bribery went on—had I not acted as Yerpa myself!"

643 To secure the throne for himself, Safdar Ali, as may be
648 remembered, murdered his father and several brothers in traditional Karakoram style, and ultimately fell foul of the British Government of India by breaking promises and treaties and trying to play off the Chinese and Russian Governments against the Indian. After the brilliant little frontier campaign of 1891–92 he fled—unregretted—to Central Asia, leaving vacant the throne of his ancestors. The British had no wish to annex the country, but it was highly important for the security

[1] Now, alas! the late Mir.—E. O. L., 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazim Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, and they would strike a track through uninhabited and uninhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

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These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173]
married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648]
a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712]
death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122]
dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692]
derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643]
where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342]
normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

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175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

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from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

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175 before the Chinese government took control of that
648 region. (By that I mean, while it was still in the hands of what is known as the Turki.)

This quotation from the autobiography of Nazim Khan will serve to illustrate the point in question:

"Two years later Colonel Bruce came to Gilgit as temporary British Agent and he told me that the Government had decided that I might still pay my annual tribute to China. To this, however, I demurred as I pointed out to him that having relations with both was like sitting between two stools. He, however, retorted that if this was the case and one stool broke there was always the other to sit on and that no suspicion would attach to me as long as there were friendly relations between the British Government and the Emperor of China. He did make one stipulation, though, and that was that I should let the Political Agent in Gilgit see the letter that accompanied the toll, before it was despatched."

In turn, the Chinese sent a friendly troop of soldiers to Hunza every year with gifts for the Mir and rich, luxurious gifts they were!

175 Now this may sound very strange, almost ridiculous
648 but nevertheless, it is absolutely true. And the reason
487 is simple and easy to understand if you will but follow me. The road through Hunza was by far the shortest route to Gilgit, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul and Persia as well as Srinagar in Kashmir and other parts of India. Elsewhere along the route the caravans could travel with immunity and safety but in Hunza even the largest caravan—yes, even one protected by gun bearers or soldiers—could easily come to grief. All that would be required would be a few men hidden away in the upper reaches on the slopes to begin dropping stones or to start a landslide at a given moment.

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As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through.

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza.

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads.

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story.

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

175 of India but was held in abeyance by her, not belonging to one or the other, yet under Indian control.
648

But in October of 1947, when the Maharajah of Kashmir who was Mohammedan suddenly decided to accede to the side of India because of pressure, threats or promises, word got down to Gilgit and there a few bold, Mohammedan officers and members of the Gilgit Scouts acted. They first approached two British officers who were still in the employ of the government . . . these officers obviously sympathized with their views.

Immediately these officers cut all communications by slicing the telegraph and telephone wires and placed the Governor of Gilgit, who was the Maharajah of Kashmir's representative, along with his few Hindu followers, under arrest.

The Indian government retaliated by bombing Gilgit. The P.A.'s house was hit by one of the bombs but only a small amount of damage was inflicted.

So since that day in November, 1947 the Gilgit area, including Hunza, Baltistan and other parts that were once part of the former Kashmir Province, is now part of Pakistan and forms the Gilgit Agency.

Considering the many casualties that occurred in other parts of Pakistan and India, the Gilgit episode is one that those in charge can be proud of because there were few if any casualties and the entire area seems to be happy under Pakistan authority.

648 Since 1947 the influence in Hunza has been mainly Pakistani. Whether the people of Hunza like it that way or not, I could not ascertain. I did not ask the Mir his opinion. To the best of my knowledge and belief, he is cooperating to the highest degree with the central government in Pakistan.

Actually, from the way the people of Hunza live,

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I cannot see what difference it would make to them whether they were a part of the British Empire, India or Pakistan, or if they were independent. They receive little or nothing from the outside world and contribute little or nothing in return. They are content to leave the world alone if the world will but leave them alone. The law of "live and let live" seems to be the "Golden Rule" in Hunza. If only more peoples and nations throughout the world would follow this simple principle!

Why have the people of this tiny principality so fascinated the world? That is a question that I have sought to answer.

I believe it was Mrs. Lorimer's book *Language Hunting in the Karakorams* that first brought Hunza to the attention of many parts of the world. Then, too, Robert McCarrison mentioned the health of these people in his research writings. Other writers followed. J. I. Rodale in *The Healthy Hunzas* did a lot to focus attention on the people of Hunza. Then G. T. Wrench, Barbara Mons, Frank and Jean Shore, John Clark, Lowell Thomas, Jr., Owen Williams, Ian Stephens, Peter Fleming, Irene V. Unruh, Ben Ruhe and Dr. Allen Banik.

Here I would like to devote a few lines to the work of the above mentioned authors.

I still believe that the most accurate and detailed information about Hunza was given by Mrs. Lorimer.

Barbara Mons in her book *High Road to Hunza* gives a splendid account of the people. The only serious thing I found wrong with it was that there wasn't enough . . . her book left me hungry, eager and yearning for more information about these delightful people. I rank her work as the most concise, informative, pleasurable book on Hunza.

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survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

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partake of the Mir's blessings.

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable.

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!"

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift."

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with.

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

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produced a key and opened the door.

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home.

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda.

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard-

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled [643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[1] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

[1] [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

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human being take to a task so assiduously and with so much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains unwritten, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I know this power has never been used or abused by the present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

• 648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

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Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity. 674 [648]

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the world and get work in other places. . . . 167

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal. 692

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called for, the people are collected and if any one will speak up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people. 695 681

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'! 684 837

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . . 582 [177]

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

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of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border.

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working with funds raised by an organization started for that purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country.

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America.

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

refusal and what other intrigues were involved, and when I questioned him about this and he explained, I realized that he had acted wisely—and so will you.

"If I allowed those boys to go to America to be educated and then come back to Hunza in a few years, both the Chinese and Russians could say that I sent them to America to be brainwashed, filled with propaganda or trained in subversive capitalistic activities.

"Well, I'm not giving Russia or China any excuses. We are a peace-loving people, we get along with the Chinese and the Russians, we mind our own business and we intend to stay free of entanglements and embroilments, if humanly possible.

"They said that I had refused to let the boys go because I was afraid that when they came back they would teach the people the American way, and that would undermine my rule and to a degree that is true, because I think my people are the happiest and healthiest in the world, and that is more than any other nation can claim. So I would like to keep them that way, if possible.

"But I'm not afraid of my people becoming educated because we do everything within our limited powers to further their education now and have done so for some years."

This statement I found to be absolutely true. The Hunzans by and large are the best learned people of that or any other area in India or Pakistan. Please don't misunderstand. I don't mean that there are no better educated individuals in these two countries because that is not so. I mean that there are few places in Pakistan or India where all of the male citizens are afforded the opportunity of getting an education without cost. That is true in Hunza.

These schools that I saw seemed to be comparable

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too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils..

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw and what I think. 137

I admit that I would very much like to some day climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958. One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and useful member of the expedition. He personally selected our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself, in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was reddish-pink in color. 137

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[649] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

129 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

S:Clark N-S (1948-1951) 1963
AVT Burunbo AVT
Hunza
[P 90-B]

121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race [279] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

• 198 204 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.40-C]

affairs, its defense, and its single telephone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the Pakistani Government. Instead, they are paid to the Mir, who is absolute ruler of the small border state. The Mir appoints an *arbop*, or village chief, and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at arms, for each village. Local disputes are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has the right of appeal to the Mir's court, which consists of the Mir, his hereditary grand vizier, plus the Mir-appointed chiefs of all the villages within walking distance of the palace. However, since the loser usually pays a fine to the Mir's treasury, and the winner traditionally gives the court a present equal to the loser's fine, not many cases are appealed. The Aga Khan (literally "Grandfather King") is spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

134 311 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

24/ 134 [23] HUNZAS are skillful at building a limited fertility into their sterile material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 241 237 Even the most painstaking hydroponic gardening cannot compensate for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy. [23] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 161 167 Unfortunately, the human population has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Shouna predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men join the Pakistan army. Others take 464 464 [18] work as servants, where their honesty, industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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Discoveries—continued.

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khán, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayashin.)	Yashkun	All Molái.	
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yasin	Yashkun	Molái.	
YÁSÍN ..	Ruled by Raja Mír Wali, son of Gaur Rahmát. (Raja's family, Bakhta.)	Yashkun	Molái and Sunl, the former predominating; no Shia.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
CHITRÁL and MASTÚJ.	Ruled by Raja Inám-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Kator.)	Yashkun	Sunl.	
GOLÁI in BADAKHSHÁN	Dependent on the Mír or Prince of Badakhshán (tributary to Kábul).	Wákhí *	Molái.	
DÁRÍL ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunl.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGÍR ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunl.	
THALÍCHA ..	Republic.			
CHILÁS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
KOLI	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
PÁLUS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajant.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Srinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dárds. Golái is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wákhí is the caste name.

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what since has occurred, but there seemed to me to be no likelihood of close friendship.

The people of Hunza are called Hunzije.

The people of *Ishkoman*, or *Chatarkun*, are called Ishkomanije, or Chatarkune.

As to *Yasin*, the most that we know of it has been told by Mr. Hayward *; I can add little to that. The people of Yasin are called Pure.

Here are some notes, taken from hearsay, of the roads that lead out of Yasin:

Yasin to Mastuj; Three Roads.

(1) By Shaver, five or six marches; it can be traversed by men all the year round; for horses it is difficult in winter, but is not altogether closed for them, or if it is, then only for fifteen days or so at a time, until the snow has hardened; also it is bad for horses for a fortnight in spring.

(2) By Tul, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

(3) By Nasba, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

Both these are closed for traffic by the end of October.

Probably the marches are of 20 miles each.

Yasin by Shaver and Tangir to Swat;

A five days' journey they say; but I think these are long marches: it may be 120 miles.

Yasin to Badakhshan.

This road is the one which Mr. Hayward was taking when he met with his death.

The Pass closes for horses at the end of October, while for two months it remains closed for all traffic. There is a glacier on the north side, but horses can go over it, avoiding the crevasses.

The people of Chitral are called Katare.

Darel. This has seven fort-villages in a valley about a mile and a half wide; the cultivation, I was told, is continuous along

* Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1870.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV7
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Zafar Zāhid Khān, *Tham* of Nagar, died in 1904 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khān. B 175 642

The chief of Hunza, who claims Roskam and the Taghdumbāsh Pāmir north of the Hindu Kush watershed, is permitted to exchange presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar, but these relations are under consideration. Both States are autonomous as regards internal affairs, and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr, to whom they pay a tribute of nominal value. They furnish levies for the defence of the frontier, who receive pay from the Kashmīr State, and are armed with Snider carbines, presented by the Government of India. [648]

Bāramūla.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 34° 13′ N. and 74° 23′ E. Population (1901), 5,866. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmīr, this is a place of some importance; but in consequence of the opening of the cart-road from Bāramūla to Srīnagar, the boat traffic, on which the inhabitants chiefly depend, may in time decrease. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east end of the town by an excellent bridge. The inhabitants are for the most part traders or shopkeepers. Bāramūla is very liable to earthquakes, and in 1885 it was almost reduced to ruins. The name is derived from the ancient city Vārahmūla, which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Bāramūla stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by king Huvishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of the modern Bāramūla. K 361 K [162] K [463] [731]

Islāmābād.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Jhelum, near the point where that river becomes navigable. Population (1901), 9,390. It lies under an elevated table-land, on the edge of which rises a conical hill, overlooking the town. From its foot flows a vigorous spring, the Anantnāg, a name applied to the town by Hindus. There are numerous other springs, one of which, the Maliknāg, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation. Many of the inhabitants are shawl-weavers, and a large number are engaged in agriculture. It is generally believed that Islāmābād was once a large and prosperous place, but now there are few signs of prosperity or growth. The sanitation has been much neglected, and this constitutes a danger to the health of the capital, Srīnagar. K [162] [463] [30-]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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this rather ungrateful at the time, till I found that, with the Governor's connivance, Wazir Ghulam Haidar had previously seized his best house and lands. It was double-dealing of this kind which had brought on the troubles for the Durbar, a mixture of weakness and bullying, fear and swagger, which had half-frightened and half-exasperated the tribesmen into attack. There was also a Helen in the case.

A fortnight at Gilgit put me in full possession of the leading facts bearing on the existing difficulties, which may be summarised as follows:—Hunza was extremely difficult of attack, and practically could have but little pressure brought to bear on it, having exits to the north on to the Pamirs. It could get all its luxuries from Kashgar and Yarkand, and had some connection with China; an Amban being at the time I was in Gilgit, or shortly before, in Hunza, to enquire as to the cause of the trouble. He was plundered and practically sent naked away, but that is another story. Nagar being a *cul-de-sac*, and depending for its salt and other luxuries on Gilgit, could be squeezed, and was, moreover, supposed to be easier of access. The Durbar, while jealous of its military reputation, and ostensibly making great preparations for war, really wished to avoid fighting, and was anxious to arrive at peace by any means in its power. The Committee at Gilgit fully recognised the difficulties of supply and carriage, and were also most anxious to come to some *modus vivendi*. The Hunza-Nagar people were sick of the game, and wanted to make peace, so that the men might look after the crops instead of spending the

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D 643 that it was our policy to be on good terms with the natural leaders of the people of the country, and the Kashmir frontier officials had mismanaged their affairs so hopelessly, and were so distrusted, that I did not wish to have them as intermediaries. In the end Raja Bahadur Khan proved of the greatest service, and his tact and knowledge of the local conditions helped to avert what might have been a very serious disaster.

B 131 • 648 642 The position of the small States of Hunza and Nagar, which I was about to visit, is unique; as Biddulph says, "they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago." Shut in by a girdle of practically impassable mountains, they had maintained their independence for centuries, though both States apparently had at different times acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Gilgit, and latterly had bound themselves to respect that of Kashmir, and to pay it tribute.

B 649 The relations of Hunza to Kashmir, and through that State with the Government of India, were complicated by the fact that the Chief of Hunza also recognised the suzerainty of China, paid a nominal tribute to, and received presents in return from its ruler.

B 186 The two States, which are divided only by a river which runs in a bed six hundred feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, are inhabited generally by people of the same stock, speaking the same language, professing the same form of the Mahomedan religion, and are ruled by princes sprung from the same family. Notwithstanding all this, or more correctly perhaps because of it, they have been

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The next few days were passed in private interviews and negotiations with Jafr Khan and his son. The former I found very sensible and amenable, but Uzr Khan showed himself day by day more stupid and boorish. He was below the average of the chiefs I had met with in intelligence, and had none of their diplomatic skill. Still I got a good deal of information out of him as to the course of events during the preceding years, an insight into the politics of the country, and a knowledge of the men likely to be important. Here, as in Chitral, the danger of bloodshed and trouble from the enmity of the royal brothers was but too plain.

The only amusement I got out of the negotiations came from the request, put forward by the Chief, that his Wazirs should be granted some pension. I readily agreed, on the condition that the amounts should be deducted from his subsidy, and that of his son. I heard no more of this proposal. After we had had our final State interview, and had sent the old Chief his presents, I held an informal reception of all the Wazirs and head men, gave them presents and robes of honour, and left them fairly satisfied.

During our stay in Nagar we wandered about photographing, in search of anything of archæological importance. The most interesting thing I saw was a Buddhist chorten, and naturally my camera was not to be found at the moment. The building was in several tiers, stood some fifteen feet high, was circular, with a diameter of about six feet, and was finished off with a crown-shaped storey. I expected to pass that way again, and promised myself to photograph and measure it carefully, but I never saw it more.

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funked himself into a state of great nervousness and a sort of nettle-rash five minutes after he had taken his first dose, which should not have taken effect for an hour. This sounded bad, for a rank coward is a dangerous man to deal with.

The views from our little camp by the polo ground were superb, especially in the afternoons; the great sugar-loaf peak of Dirran, just opposite, seemed to float and melt in the pale blue sky, and Rakapushi was glorious, with great dashes of sunlight at his base, and bands of clouds resting high up, the great peaks standing out above.

And now came the important interviews at which business had to be discussed. The first one was quite satisfactory. I found the Thum in a small open room or court leading into the private apartments, and we sat down to discuss business. It was obvious that the Wazir was the important man, but also that the Thum, cowardly, shifty, and with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, must be reckoned with very carefully. Everything passed off well, and the Government conditions were readily assented to, the most important one at the moment being the promise of a free passage to Younghusband, who was to come to Gilgit in November from the Pamirs. Wazir Dadu amused us very much when the question of raiding was raised. He made no attempt at denying that this was the custom of the country, and explained it by saying that Hunza was a poor state, and that necessarily its people looted. The evident enjoyment with which he referred to former exploits, and the expressive grin which accompanied his explanations,

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were too much for me, and I had to join in the general laugh.

We parted good friends, but in the evening came a letter from the Thum, asking for the same subsidy for his son as had been promised to Raja Uzr Khan of Nagar. As his son was about four years old and Uzr Khan thirty, I thought this was pretty cool. In the morning came rather an insolent verbal message to the effect that unless the boy's subsidy was granted, my surveyor would not be allowed to proceed to the north, where there was some surveying work to be done. This was in direct contravention of the agreement entered into, but I took no notice, as we were to pay our farewell visits that day. After breakfast, accordingly, we went up and had a long talk, which was quite satisfactory until the question of the boy's subsidy came up. It was useless to point out that Raja Uzr Khan's grant was taken out of his father's, that he was a grown man, with much weight in the country, and that the case of the small boy would doubtless be considered when he came of age, if his father was loyal to his engagements. The Thum got sulkier and sulkier, ruder and ruder, until the Wazir, who was evidently uneasy at the turn things were taking, brought the discussion to a close with smooth and tactful words. We returned to camp fairly well satisfied, to find that we had been meant to march that day, but that with their usual fecklessness the Thum's people had not let us know. It would have saved me hours of anxiety had I but known this the day before.

After sending off the presents I had brought for

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the Thum by the Raja of Astor and my head orderly, Zyarulla Khan, I sat down and began to write an official letter to India, giving the story of the progress of the negotiations. I had been writing some time, when I saw my orderly strolling towards the tent with a rifle in his hands. I caught his eye, and saw that something was wrong, and that he wanted to see me alone. I therefore dismissed my servant, who was wandering about the tent making preparations for the next day's march, and called Zyarulla in. I never shall forget his coolness that day; he was a well-tried Pathan, for whom danger brought no fears. Looking round to see that no one was within hearing, he walked to the door of my tent, and, laying the rifle on my table, quietly remarked: "Rifle bigr gya, aur Raja bhi bigr gya"—"the rifle has gone wrong, and so has the Raja." Picking up the rifle, a repeater, I set to work to put it right, and listened to the story of his interview with our truculent host. It did not sound pleasant. My envoys had found the Thum sulky about his son's pension, and, after some talk, during which the presents were duly spread before him, he had suddenly flown into a passion, thrown my things about the room, and refused to accept them. He had called for and shown a quantity of presents received from the Russians, and offered to produce the treaty he had made with them, even to show it to me, and generally had behaved like a disappointed and spoilt child. Finally, he had sent me a message that he withdrew all the promises that he had made.

The question I had to solve, and to solve pretty quickly, was whether this was a serious outbreak, or

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and treated accordingly, I marched back to Gilgit. The storm was for the moment averted, but I had no hope that the settlement was permanent, for I knew Uzr Khan's ambition to make himself master of Chalt, and the Hunza Chief was busy breaking every one of the terms of his agreement with us. He was still raiding across the northern passes; a band of his ruffians had had the insolence to kidnap a Kashmiri subject at Nomal, and to sell him into slavery on the Pamirs, and we had further serious causes of complaint. In other ways than those mentioned above my move had been a success. The Punyali levies were radiant at our having forestalled Uzr Khan, and occupied the Chaichar Parri without striking a blow. The news spread through the country-side like wild-fire, the prestige of the Kashmir troops and their own which was connected with it rose with a bound, and they felt confidence in our leadership and fortune.

For the next few months nothing of importance occurred, until early in August Raja Ram Singh, the Maharaja's brother, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir army, came up to inspect Gilgit. I was delighted at his coming, for it gave me an opportunity to show him what we were doing to increase the comfort and efficiency of his troops, and to consolidate the power of the Kashmir Government on the frontier. Various little traps were set with the object of embroiling me with him, but my Intelligence Department was fairly well organised, and I was able to avoid them. It afforded me much interest to explain them to him, and they gave us both a good deal of innocent amusement. The meanest was got up by one of the

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Smith led a little body of Kashmir troops up a cliff a thousand feet in height, under cover of a tremendous fire from our side of the ravine, that the attacking column was not discovered until more than half of the ascent was completed, that in consequence it escaped the danger of an avalanche of stones hurled down from the sungahs covering the path, and that these sungahs once taken the enemy's line was pierced, his opposition ceased, and the campaign was over. Within two days we had occupied Nagar, the Hunza Chief and Uzr Khan fled northwards across the frontier, the Hunza people made submission without striking a blow, and our plans were crowned with success.

It was an open secret that Safdar Ali Khan had counted on help from the north, and had sent an embassy to the Russians, at Tashkent. The Governor-General had refused any assistance, but by all accounts his staff had held very different language, and Safdar Ali Khan had apparently attached some importance to the reports his messenger brought. In his reply to my ultimatum he had threatened me with the wrath of the three Empires—Hunza, Russia, and China. The help expected had not been forthcoming, and the "descendant of Alexander" was now an exile. The result of the little war may best be summed up in the words of a well-known Russian statesman, who said when he heard of our occupation of Hunza: "*Ils nous ont fermés la porte au nez*" (They have slammed the door in our faces).

The gallantry of officers and men during the operations was fittingly rewarded. Aylmer, Boisragon, and Manners-Smith received the Victoria Cross, and

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

110 *Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government.*

Kashmir AV 1

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"TREATY between the British Government on the one part and MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING of JUMMOO on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by FREDERICK CURRIE, ESQUIRE, and Brevet-Major HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING in person.

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharajah Golab Sing shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

ARTICLE V.

Maharajah Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

ARTICLE VII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages never to take, or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII., of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Sing in protecting his territories from external enemies.

ARTICLE X.

Maharajah Golab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharajah Golab Sing in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Umritsur, this Seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, corresponding with the Seventeenth day of Rubbee-ool-awul 1262 Hijree.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE.

(Signed) F. CURRIE.
H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.
(Signed) F. CURRIE,
Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General."

1r Lettner L-3 (1860-98) 1895? AVS Dard
Burusho AVT

000 sion, when they find his little finger heavier than the whole body of the indigenous oppressor. I have suffered so much from my persistent exposure of the misrule and intrigues of Kashmir by those who now hail the *fait accompli* of its practical annexation, that I may claim to be heard in favour of at least one feature of its former native administration. With bodies of troops averaging from 20 to 200, the late Maharaja, who foresaw what has happened after his death, kept the Hunza-Nagyr frontier in order. It certainly was by rule of thumb, and had no dockets, red tape, and reports. Indeed, his frontier guardians were, as I found them, asleep during a state of siege in 1866, or, when war was over, were engaged in storing grain *outside* the forts; but peace was kept as it will never be again, in spite of 2,000 Imperial troops, first-rate roads, and suspension bridges over the "Shaitan Naré," instead of the rotten rope-way that spanned "Satan's Gorge," or of boats dragged up from Srinagar over the mountains to enable a dozen sepoys to cross the Indus at a time, or to convey couriers with a couple of bullets, some dried butter-cakes, and an open letter or two, who ran the siege at Gilgit and brought such effective reinforcements to its defenders!

648 Nor has our diplomacy been more effectual than our arms, as the encounter at Chalt with Hunza-Nagyr, hereditary foes, but whom our policy has united against us, has shown. To us Nagyr is decidedly friendly; but a worm will turn if trodden on by some of our too quickly advanced subalterns. That, however, the wise and amiable Chief of Nagyr, a patriarch with a large progeny, and preserving the keenness of youth in his old age, is really friendly to us in spite of provocation, may be inferred from the following letter to me, which does credit alike to his head and heart, and which is far from showing him to be our inveterate foe, as alleged by the *Pioneer*. His eldest son began to teach me the remarkable Khajuná language, which I first committed to writing in 1866, during the siege of Gilgit, and another son continued the lessons in 1886.

1: Letter L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Daré

The latter is a hostage in Kashmir, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesâd*) I have not sent agents to Kashmir this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZA'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmir, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard Sha
Burusho A17

than the physical obstacles to which I have already referred. 000
Here, between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Central Asia, we have not only the series of Pamirs, or plateaux and high valleys, which I first brought to notice on linguistic grounds, in the map accompanying my tour in Dardistan in 1866 (the country between Kashmir and Kabul), and which have been recently confirmed topographically; but we have also a large series of mountainous countries, which, if left alone, or only assured of our help against a foreign invader, would guarantee for ever the peace alike of the Russian, the British, and the Chinese frontiers. Unfortunately, we have allowed Afghanistan to annex Badakhshan, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, at much loss of life to their inhabitants; and Russia has similarly endorsed the shadowy and recent claims of Bokhara on neighbouring provinces, like Darwáz and Karategin.

It is untrue that Hunza and Nagyr were ever tributaries 648
of Kashmir, except in the sense that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to its Maharaja, and received substantial presents in return. It is to China or Kitái that Hunza considers itself bound by an ancient, but vague, allegiance. Hunza and Nagyr, that will only unite against a foreign common foe, have more than once punished Kashmir when attempting invasion; but they are not hostile to Kashmir, and Nagyr even sends one of the princes to Srinagar as a guarantee of its peaceful intentions. At the same time, it is not very many months ago that they gave us trouble at Chalt, when we sought to establish an outpost, threatening the road to Hunza and the independence alike of Hunza and Nagyr.

Just as Nagyr is pious, so Hunza is impious. Its re- 771
ligion is a perversion even of the heterodox Muláí faith, which is Shiah Muhammadan only in name, but pantheistic in substance. It prevails in Punyál, Zebak, Darwáz, etc. The Tham," or Raja, of Hunza used to dance in a Mosque and hold revels in it. Wine is largely drunk in Hunza, and like the Druses of the Lebanon, the "initiated" Muláis

Kashmir AV1
1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmir and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

When I crossed the then Kashmir frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrál had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmir invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmir troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmir, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmir to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmir

1: Letters L-3 (1860-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries, as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891, before its present change with the times, if an unintentional pun may be permitted.

Then, as ever, the Anglo-Indian newspapers spoke of Russian intrigues in those regions. I am perfectly certain that if, instead of the fussiness of our statesmen and the sensationalism of our journals, the languages, history, and relations of these little-known races had been studied by them, we should never have heard of Russia in that part of the East. It is also not by disingenuousness and short cuts on maps or in diplomacy, but by *knowledge*, that physical, ethnographical, and political problems are to be solved; nor will the bold and brilliant robberies of Russia be checked by our handing over the inhabitants of the supposed "cradle of the human race" to Affghan, Kashmir, or Chinese usurpations. Above all, it is a loss of time to palm off myths as history in order to suit the policy or conceal the ignorance of the moment.

Just as little as Darwaz and Karategin are ancestral dominions of Bokhará, and, therefore, under Russian influence, so little did even Badakhshan, and much less so, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, ever really belong to Affghanistan. As for the Chinese hold on Turkistan, we ourselves denied it when we coquetted with Yakub Khush Begi, though Kitái was ever the acknowledged superior of Eastern Turkistan. If Hunza admits any allegiance, it is to China, and not to Kashmir; and the designations of offices of rule in that country are of Chinese, and not of Aryan origin, including even "Thàm," the title of its Raja.

As a matter of fact, however, the vast number of tribes that inhabit the many countries between the Indus and the Kuner own no master except their own tribal head or the tribal council. From kidnapping Hunza, where the right to plunder is monarchical, hereditary, and "ayeshó" = "heaven-born," to the peace and learning of republican Kandiá or

Lc Lettner L-S (1866-92) 1892? AV3 Dard AV3

Gabriál, all want to be left alone. If a neighbour becomes troublesome, he is raided on till an interchange of presents restores harmony. It is impossible to say that either side is tributary to the other. The wealthier gives the larger present; the bigger is considered the superior in a general sort of way, and so two horses, two dogs, and a handful of gold dust are yearly sent by Hunza to Kashmir or to Yarkand as a cloak for much more substantial exactions in return. Nagyr sends a basket of apricots instead of the horses and dogs. In 1871 Chitrál still paid a tribute to Badakhshan in slaves, but it would be absurd to infer from this fact that Chitrál ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Jehandar Shah, or of the Affghan faction that dispossessed him. Nor were the Khaibaris, or other highway robbers, our rulers, because we paid them blackmail, or they our subjects because they might bring us "sweetmeats."

The points in which most Englishmen are as deficient as Russians are generally proficient, are language and a sympathetic manner with natives. That, however, linguistic knowledge is not useless may be inferred from the fact that it enabled me, to use the words of my Chief, Commissary General H. S. Jones, C.B., during the Russian War in 1855, "to pass unharmed through regions previously unknown and among tribes hitherto unvisited by any European."

Also in topography and geography linguistics are necessary; and the absurd mistakes now made at certain learned societies and in certain scientific journals regarding the Pamirs, would be avoided by a little study of the Oriental languages concerned. In 1866, the map which accompanies my philological work on "Dardistan" shows, on linguistic grounds, and on the basis of native itineraries, the various Pamirs that have been partially revealed within the last few weeks, or have been laboriously ascertained by expensive Russian and British expeditions between 1867 and 1890. The publication of my material, collected at my own expense and which shall no longer be delayed, would have saved many complications; but when, *e.g.*, I pointed out,

3: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushs. A47

by the British Parliament and public, if our present Liberal Administration cannot do so without pressure from without. We should conciliate Nizam-ul-Mulk before it is too late. He is connected with Umra Khan of Jandól and with the influential Mullah Shahu of Bajaur through his maternal uncle, Kokhan Beg. He has also connections in Badakhshan, Hunza and Dir, as already stated. Indeed, we ought to have given him our support from the beginning. I doubt whether it would be desirable to subdivide Chitrál as stated in to-day's *Times*, letting Sher Afzul keep Chitrál proper, giving Yasin to "the Nizám" and letting Umra Khan retain what he has already seized of Southern Chitrál. As for Sher Afzul, I believe, that he is also "loyal."

As for Hunza, I am not at all certain that the fugitive, Safdar Ali Khan, really murdered his father. At all events when the deed was committed, I find that it was attributed to Muhammad Khan,* probably not the present

* = By the most recent account, Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar, has been killed by his own son, Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan's mother was the sister of Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nagyr. She was killed by her father-in-law, Ghazanfar, and thrown over a precipice from her house. Ghazan Khan treacherously killed his paternal uncle, Abdullah Khan, ruler of Gojal, who unsuspectingly met him. On ascending the throne, Ghazan Khan is also said to have poisoned his ailing full brother, Bukhtawar Shah, and another (by a different Sayad mother) Nanawal Shah. The fratricidal traditions of Hunza and of the Khush-waqtia family of Yasin have now been somewhat thrown into the shade by the parricide of Muhammad Khan. The father of Ghazan Khan, Ghazanfar, is said to have died from the effects of a suit of clothes, impregnated with small-pox, sent to him by his daughter, the full sister of Ghazan Khan, who was married to Mir Shah of Badakhshan, in order to accelerate her brother's accession to the throne. The father of Ghazanfar, Sullum, also poisoned his own father. This state of things is very different from the gentle rules and traditions of Nagyr, whose aged Chief, Zafar Khan, has nineteen sons, and who sent his rebellious eldest son, Muhammad Khan (whose mother was a full sister of Ghazan Khan of Hunza) to Ramsu in Kashmir territory, where he died. He was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, and tried to sell some of his Nagyr subjects into slavery, against the traditions of that peaceful country, in consequence of which his father, Zafar Khan, expelled him." (See Part referring to the History and Customs of Hunza and Nagyr.) Yet it is this patriarchal, loyal and God-fearing Zafar Khan, whose letter to me I published last year, whom we accused of kidnapping and aggressiveness, so that we might take his country.

1: Letter L-3 (1888-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

Mir Muhammad Nazim who has acknowledged the suzerainty of England (through Kashmir) and of China. The latter power has always had something to say to Hunza, and the very title of its Chief "Tham" is of Chinese origin. The subsidy that China used to pay for keeping open the commercial road from Badakhshan and Wakhan through the Pamirs along Kunjût (Hunza) to Yarkand, was about £380 per annum, and this sum was divided between four States and ensured the immunity of the route from raids.* I doubt whether in future £380 a year on Hunza alone will enable us to keep it quiet, and I am sure that the lofty superciliousness with which Chinese officials discuss the Pamir question, as something that scarcely concerns them, is no evidence of that pertinacious power abandoning claims to a suzerainty in those regions which are historically founded, although their exercise has been more by an appeal to imagination of the glorious and invincible, if distant, "Khitái," than by actual interference.

Indeed, it is China alone that has a grievance—against Russia for the occupation of the Alichur Pamir—against Afghanistan for expelling her troops from Somatash (of subsequent Yanoff fame)—and against England for encroaching on her ancient feudatory of Hunza, whose services in suppressing the Khoja rebellion in 1847 are commemorated in a tablet on one of the gates of Yarkand.

NOTE.—We add a reproduction of the photographs of the Mihtar and Badshah Nizam-ul-Mulk, sitting in Council with his uncle, Bahadur Khan, now at Gilgit, where he represented Afzul-ul-Mulk. On the Nizam's left is his foster-uncle, Maimun Shah, whilst behind him stand our Indian Agent, Wafadár Khan and a Chitráli office-holder, Wazir Khan, of corresponding rank. We also give the portrait of the Chitrál Court poet and musician, the celebrated Taighún Shah, one of whose songs, with its notation, was published in our issue of the 1st of January, 1891. He is seated with the two flute-players who always precede the King of Chitrál when on a tour.

* Of the £380, Shignán received £170, Sirikol £100, Wakhan £50, and Hunza £60 in Yambus (silver blocks of the value of £17).

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

any such aid would be an infringement of the rights of Abdur-Rahman. Now that Abdur-Rahman is suspected, on the flimsiest possible evidence, to have connived at Sher Afzul's invasion of Chitrál, we seek to pick a quarrel with him for what a few weeks ago was considered an assertion of his rights. Let it be repeated once for always that if ever Abdur-Rahman or Nizám-ul-Mulk, or the Chief of Hunza or Kashmir or Upper India fall into the arms of Russia, it will be *maxima nostra culpa*. I know the Amir Abdur-Rahman, as I knew the Amir Sher Ali, as I know Nizám-ul-Mulk, and of all I can assert that no truer friends to England existed in Asia than these Chiefs. Should Abdur-Rahman be alienated, as Sher Ali was, or Nizám-ul-Mulk might be, it will be entirely in consequence of our meddlesomeness and our provocations. Russia has merely to start a will-o'-the-wisp conversation between Grombcheffsky and the Chief of Hunza, when there is internal evidence that Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, and certainly never went there by the Muztagh Pass, that we, ignoring the right of China and of the treaty with Kashmir in 1846, forgetful of the danger in our rear and the undesirability of paving for an invader the road in front, fasten a quarrel on Hunza-Nagyr, and slaughter its inhabitants. No abuse or misrepresentation was spared in order to inflame the British public even against friendly and inoffensive Nagyr. What wonder that a Deputation was sent from Hunza to seek Russian aid and that it returned contented with presents, and public expressions of sympathy which explained away the Russian official refusal as softened by private assurances of friendship? Whatever may be the disaster to civilization in the ascendancy of Russian rule, the personal behaviour of Russian agents in Central Asia is, generally, pleasant. As in Hunza, so in Afghanistan, some strange suspicion of the disloyalty of its Chief, suggested by Russia, may involve us in a senseless war and inordinate expense, with the eventual result that Afghanistan must be divided between England and Russia, and their frontiers in

Mr Biddulph C-8 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh
4

AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily
expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication 648 •
with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous 186
times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, [79?]
and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots.

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. 131
The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded.

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. 133
North of the great range of peaks which bisects the [16?]
principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper.

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to 487
the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkön Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat

Rudolph G-3 (1875-1878) 1880 Afgh-Afghanistan-Afg
4 Afg Dard
Burushe Afg

173 "behaved badly" all through, as the above story is concealed in Hunza under the fiction that a prince of Shighnan became the husband of the princess, but that his name being forgotten he is known only as Ayesho (Heaven-sent), from which the present ruling family of Hunza takes the name. The present Thum of Hunza is Ghazan Khán.

The rivalry of the two brothers has been perpetuated till the present time, and has become almost an article of faith between the people, as well as the rulers, of the two states.
721 The people of Hunza have a greater reputation for bravery than those of Nager, but they are not warlike in the sense
648 that the Afghans may be said to be so. Secure in the inaccessibility of their country, they have preyed upon all their neighbours without fear of retribution. At the time of the insurrection of the seven Khojas in Yarkund in 1847, Shah Ghazanfur Khan of Hunza rendered assistance to the Chinese in overcoming the rebellion. In recognition of this service a jagheer was granted to him close to Yarkund, and a brass tablet inscribed with a record of the friendship of Hunza towards Pekin, and its reward was placed on the gates of the city. A fixed subsidy was paid by the Chinese to the Thum of Hunza, who in return gave a nominal allegiance. Under these circumstances, the caravans between Yarkund and Leh were regularly plundered in the valley of the Yarkund River near Koolanooldi by the Hunza people, whilst the Chinese authorities winked at a proceeding which they were unable to prevent or punish. The raids were organised by the Thum, and looked upon as a right conferred by the proximity of the caravan route. His agents in Yarkund sent notice when a rich caravan was about to start, and a party was at once despatched by mountain paths known only to themselves, to lie in wait for it. Besides the plunder carried off, young men were generally seized and sold into slavery, which caused Hunza to become the chief place of resort for slave-merchants from Badakhshan. The last exploit of the kind, and the most successful recorded, took place in 1865, when no less than 50 camels and 500 ponies laden with merchandise were driven from Koolanooldi to Hunza by way of Ujadbai without opposition. Kunjooti eyes still glisten when they talk of that day, but the establishment of the firm rule of the Atalik in Kashghar put a stop to future proceedings of the kind. On the re-establishment of Chinese power in Kashghar in 1878, Ghazan Khan preferred a formal request to me that he might revive his ancient right

Rudolph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan AUS
4 AVJ Dard.
Burusl. Av7

of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids.

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhane Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored.

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is